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DAEMONOLOGIE, IN FORME
OF A DIALOGVE,

Divided into three bookes.

Written by the high and mightie Prince, IAMES by
the grace of God King of England, Scotland,
France, and Ireland, Defender
of the faith. &c.



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The Preface to the Reader.

He feareful abounding at this time in this cuntry, of these detestable slaues of the Diuel, the Witches or enchauners, hath moued me (beloued reader) to dispatch in post, this following Treatise of mine, not in any wise (as I protest) to serue for a shewe of my learning and ingine, but onely (moued of conscience) to preasse thereby, so farre as I can, to resolue the doubting hearts of manie; both that such assaults of Sathan are most certainly practised, and that the instruments thereof, merits most seuerely to be punished: against the damnable opinions of two principally in our age, whereof the one called Scot, an Englishman,

TO THE READER.

is not ashamed in publike print to denie, that there can be such a thing as Witch-craft: and so maintaines the old error of the Sadduces in denying of spirits. The other called Wierus, a German Physition, sets out a publike apologie for all these crafts-folkes, whereby, procuring for their impunitie, he plainely bewrayes himselfe to haue beene one of that profession. And for to make this Treatise the more pleasant & facill, I haue put it in forme of a Dialogue, which I haue diuided into three bookes: The first speaking of Magie in generall, and Necromancie in speciall. The second, of Sorcerie and Writch-craft: and the third, containes a discourse of al these kinds of spirits, and Spectres that appeares and troubles persons: together with a conclusion of the whole worke. My intention in this labour, is onely to proue two things, as I haue already said: the one, that such diuelish artes haue beene and are. The other, what exact triall and seuerer punishment they merit:

TO THE READER.

it: and therefore reason I, What kind of things are possible to be performed in these Arts, and by what naturall causes they may be, not that I touch euerie particular thing of the Diuels power, for that were infinite: but onely, to speake scholastickly, (since this can not be spoken in our language) I reason upon genus leauing species, and differentia to be comprehended therein. As for example, speaking of the power of Magiciens, in the first booke and sixth chapter: I say, that they can suddenly cause be brought unto them, all kinds of dainty dishes, by their familiar spirit: since as a thiefe he delights to steale, & as a spirit he can subtilly and sodainly enough transport the same. Now under this genus, may be comprehended all particulars, depending therupon: such as the bringing wine out of a wal (as we haue heard oft to haue bin practised) & such others; which particulars, are sufficiently proued by the reasons of the general. And such like in the second booke of Witch-craft.

TO THE READER.

*craft in special, and first Chap. I say, & proue by diuerse arguments, that Witches can by the power of their Maister, cure or cast on diseases: Now by these same reasons, that proues their power by the Diuell of diseases in generall, is aswell proued their power in speciall: as of weakning the nature of some men, to make them unable for women: and making it to abound in others, more then the ordinarie course of nature would permit. And such like in all other particular sicknesses. But one thing I will pray thee to obserue in all these places, where I reason vpon the deuils power, which is the different ends and scopes, that God as the first cause, and the Diuell as his instrument & second cause, shoots at in all these actions of the Diuell, (as Gods hang-man:) For where the diuels intention in them is euer to perish, either the soule or the bodie, or both of them, that he is so permitted to deale with: God by the contrarie, drawes euer out of that euill glory to himselfe, either by the wracke of
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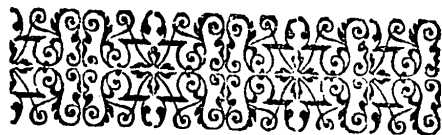
TO THE READER.

*the wicked in his iustice, or by the triall of the patient, and amendment of the faithfull, being wakened vp with that rod of correction. Having thus declared vnto thee then, my full intention in this Treatise, thou wilt easily excuse, I doubt not, aswell my pretermittting, to declare the whole particular rites and secrets of these vnlawful arts: as also their infinit and wonderfull practises, as being neither of them pertinent to my purpose: the reason whereof, is giuen in the hinder end of the first Chapter of the third booke: and who likes to be curious in these things, he may reade, if he will, here of their practises, Bodinus Dæmonomanie, collected with greater diligence, then written with iudgement, together with their confessions, that haue beene at this time apprehended. If he would know what hath been the opinion of the Ancients, concerning their power: hee shall see it well described by Hyperius & Hemmingius, two late Germane Writers: Besides innumerable other
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TO THE READER.

neotericke Theologues, that writes largelie upon that subject: And if he would know what are the particular rites, & curiosities of these blacke Arts (which is both vnnesessarie and perillous) he will find it in the fourth Booke of Cornelius Agrippa, and in Wierus, whom of I spake. And so wishing my paines in this Treatise (beloued Reader) to be effectual, in arming all them that reads the same, against these aboue mentioned errors, and recommending my good will to thy friendly acceptation, I bid thee heartily fare-well.

JAMES R



DÆMONOLOGIE,
IN FORME OF ANE
DIALOGVE

First Booke:

ARGUMENT.

*The exord of the whole. The description
of Magie in speciall.*

CHAP. I. ARGUMENT.

*Prouen by the Scripture, that these unlawfull arts in
genere, haue bene and may be put in practise.*

PHILOMATHES and EPISTEMON
reason the matter.

PHILOMATHES.

I AM surelie verie glad to haue mette with you thisdaie, for I am of opinion, that ye can better resolue me of some thing, whereof I stand in great doubt, nor anie other whom-with I could haue mette.

3.
EPI. In what I can, that yee like to speir at me, I will willinglie and freelic tell

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my

my opinion, and if I proue it not sufficiently, I am heartily content that a better reason carie it away then.

PHI. What thinke ye of these strange newes, which now onely furnishes purpose to all men at their meeting: I meane of these Witches?

EPI. Surely they are wonderfull: And I thinke so cleare and plaine confessions in that purpose, haue neuer fallen out in anie age or cuntrey.

PHI. No question if they be true, but thereof the Doctours doubts.

EPI. What part of it doubt ye of?

PHI. Euen of all, for ought I can yet perceau: and namely, that there is such a thing as Witchcraft or Witches, and I would pray you to resolue me thereof if ye may: for I haue reasoned with sundrie in that matter, and yet could neuer be satisfied therein.

EPI. I shall with good will doe the best I can: But I think it the difficiller, since ye denie the thing it selfe in generall: for as it is said in the Logicke schooles, *Contra negantem principia non est disputandum*. Alwayes for that part, that Witchcraft, and Witches haue beene, and are, the former part is clearely proued by the Scriptures, and the last by daillie experience and confessions.

PHI. I know ye will alleage me *Saules Pythouisse*: but that as appeares will not make much for you.

EPI. Not only that place, but diuers others: But I maruell why that should not make much for me?

PHI. The

PHI. The reasons are these, first yee may consider, that *Saul* being troubled in spirit, and hauing fasted long before, as the text testifieth, and being come to a woman that was bruted to haue such knowledge, and that to enquire so important newes, he hauing so guiltie a conscience for his hainous offences, and speciallie, for that same vnlawful curiositie, and horrible defection: and then the woman crying out vpon the suddaine in great admiration, for the vncouth sight that she alledged to haue sene discovering him to be the King, though disguised, & denied by him before: it was no woonder I say, that his senses being thus distracted, he could not perceau her faining of her voice, hee being himselfe in an other chalmer, and seeing nothing. Next what could be, or was raised? The spirit of *Samuel*? Prophane and against all Theologie: the Diuell in his likenes? as vnappeirant, that either God would permit him to come in the shape of his Saintes (for then could neuer the Prophets in those daies haue bene sure, what Spirit spake to them in their visions) or then that he could fore-tell what was to come thereafter; for Prophecie proceedeth onelie of GOD: and the Deuill hath no knowledge of things to come.

EPI. Yet if yee will marke the wordes of the text, yee will finde clearelie, that *Saul* saw that apparition: for giuing you that *Saul* was in an other Chalmer, at the making of the circles & coniurations, needfull for that purpose (as none of that craft will permit any vthers to behold at that time)

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yet

yet it is euident by the text, that how sone that once that vncleane spirit was fully risen, she called in vpon *Saul*. For it is saide in the text, that *Saule knew him to be Samuel*, which couide not haue beene, by the hearing tell onelie of an olde man with ane mantill, since there was manie mo old men dead in *Israel* nor *Samuel*: And the common weid of that whole countrey was mantils. As to the next, that it was not the spirit of *Samuel*, I grant. In the prouing whereof ye neede not to inslit, since all Chrittians of whatso-euer religion agrees vpon that: and none but either mere ignorants, or Necromancers or Witches doubres thereof. And that the Diuel is permitted at sometimes to put himself in the likenes of the Saintes, it is plaine in the Scriptures, where it is said, that *Sathan can transforme himselfe into an Angell of light*. Neither could that bring any inconuenient with the visiones of the prophets, since it is most certaine, that God will not permit him so to deceiue his own: but onlie such, as first wilfully deceiues them-selues, by running vnto him, whome God then suffers to fall in their owne snares, and iustlie permittes them to be illuded with great efficacy of deceit, because they would not beleue the truth (as *Paul* sayth). And as to the diuelles foretelling of things to come, it is true that he knowes not all thinges future, but yet that he knowes parte, the Tragicaill euent of this historie declares it, (which the wit of woman could neuer haue fore-spoken) nor that he hath any prefeience, which is only proper to God: or yet knows anie thing by loking vpon

2. COR. 11. 14.

on God, as in a mirroure (as the good Angels doe) he being for euer debarred from the fauorable presence & countenance of his creator, but only by one of these two meanes, either as being worldly wise, and taught by a continuall experience, euer since the cration, iudges by likelie-hood of thinges to come, according to the like that hath passed before, and the naturall causes, in respect of the vicissitude of all thinges worldly: Or elle by Gods employing of him in a turne, and so foreseene thereof: as appeares to haue bin in this, whereof we finde the verie like in *Micheas* propheticque discourse to King *Ahab*. But to prooue this my first proposition, that there can be such a thing as witch-craft, & witches, there are manie mo places in the Scriptures then this (as I said before). As first in the law of God, it is plainelie prohibited. But certaine it is, that the Law of God speakes nothing in vaine, neither doth it lay curses, or inioine punishments vpon shadowes, condemning that to be ill, which is not in essence or being as we call it. Secondlie, it is plaine, where wicked *Pharaohs* wise-men imitated a number of *Moses* miracles, to harden the Israels heart there-by. Thirdly, said not *Samuel* to *Saul*, that *disobedience is as the sin of Witch-craft*? To compare it to a thing that were not, it were too too absurd. Fourthlie, was not *Simon Magus*, a man of that craft? And filitie, what was she that had the spirit of *Python*? beside innumerable other places that were irkesom to recite.

1. King. 22.

Exod. 22.

Exod. 7. 8

1. Sam. 15

Act. 8.

Act. 16.

CHAP. II. ARGV.

What kind of sin the practizers of these unlawfull artes committes. The diuision of these artes. And what are the meanes that allures any to practize them.

PHILOMATHES.

BVT I thinke it verie strange, that God should permit any man-kinde (since they beare his owne Image) to fall in so grosse and filthie a defectiō.

EPI. Although man in his Creation was made to the image of the Creator, yet through his fall hauing once lost it, it is but restored againe in a part by grace onelic to the elect: So all the rest falling away from God, are giuen ouer in the handes of the Deuill that enemy, to beare his Image; and being once so giuen ouer, the greatest and the grossest impietic, is the pleasantest, and most delytfull vnto them.

PHI. But may it not suffice him to haue indirectlie the rule, and procure the perdition of so manie soules by alluring them to vices, and to the following of their own appetites, suppose he abuse not so manie simple soules, in making them directlie acknowledge him for their maister.

EPI. No surelie, for hee vses euerie man, whom of he hath the rule, according to their complexion and knowledge: And so, whom he findes most simple, he plainelieft discouers himselfe vnto them. For he beeing the enemie of mans Saluation, vses al the meanes he can to intrappe them so
farre

Gen. 1.

far in his snares, as it may bee vnable to them thereafter (suppose they would) to rid themselues out of the same.

PHI. Then this sinne is a sinne against the holy Ghost.

EPI. It is in some, but not in all.

PHI. How that? Are not all these that runnes directly to the diuell in one Categorie?

EPI. God forbid, for the sinne against the holy Ghost hath two branches: The one a falling back from the whole seruice of God, and a refusall of all his precepts. The other is the doing of the first with knowledge, knowing that they doe wrong against their owne conscience, and the testimonie of the holy Spirit, hauing once had a taste of the sweetnes of Gods mercies. Now in the first of these two, all sorts of Necromancers, Enchaunters or Witches, are comprehended: but in the last, none but such as erres with this knowledge that I haue spoken of.

Heb. 6. 10. 5.

PHI. Then it appeares that there are more sorts nor one, that are directly professours of his seruice: and if so be, I pray you tell me how manie, & what are they?

EPI. There are principally two sorts, whereunto all the parts of that unhappie Arte are redacted; whereof the one is called *Magie* or *Necromancie*, the other *Sorcerie* or *Witch-craft*.

PHI. What I pray you? and how manie are the meanes, whereby the Diuell allures persons in anie of these snares?

EPI.

EPH. Euen by these three passions that are within our selues; Curiosity in great engines: thirst of reuenge, for some tortes deeply apprehended: or greedie appetite of geare, caused through great pouertie. As to the first of these, Curiosity, it is onelie the inticement of *Magiciens* or *Necromancers*: and the other two are the allurers of the *Sorcerers* or *Witches*; for that old and craftie serpent being a Spirit, he easilie spies our affections, and so conformes himselfe thereto, to deceiue vs to our wracke.

CHAP. III. ARGV.

The significations and etymologies of the words of Magic and Necromancie. The difference betwixt Necromancie and Witch-craft: What are the entrestis, and beginnings that brings any to the knowledge thereof.

PHILOMATHES.

I Would gladlie first heare, what thing is it that I ye call *Magie* or *Necromancie*.

EPH. This word *Magi* in the Persian tongue, imports as much as to be ane contemplator or Interpretour of Diuine and heauenlie sciences: which being first vsed amōgs the *Chaldees*, through their ignorance of the true diuinitie, was esteemed and reputed amongst them, as a principall vertue: And therefore, was named vniustly with an honorable stile, which name the *Greeks* imitated, generally importing all these kinds of vnlawfull artes.

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And this word *Necromancie* is a Greek word, compounded of *Nεκρω* & *μαντια* which is to say, the prophecie by the dead. This last name is giuen, to this black & vnlawfull science by the figure *Synecdoche*, because it is a principall part of that art, to serue themselues with dead carcages in their diuinations.

PHI. What difference is there betwixt this arte, and Witch-craft?

EPH. Surelie, the difference vulgare put betwixt them, is verrie merrie, and in a manner true; for they say, that the Witches are seruants onely, and slaues to the Diuel; but the Necromancers are his Maisters and commanders.

PHI. How can that be true, that any men being specially addicted to his seruice, can be his comandars?

EPH. Yea they may be: but it is onely *secundum quid*: For it is not by any power that they can haue ouer him, but *ex pacto* allanerlie: whereby he obliges himself in some trifles to them, that he may on the other part obtaine the fruition of their body & soule, which is the onlie thing he huntes for.

PHI. An verie in-equitable contract forsooth: But I pray you discourse vnto mee, what is the effect and secrets of that arte?

EPH. That is ouer large ane field ye giue mee: yet I shall doe good-will, the most summarly that I can, to runne through the principal points thereof. As there are two sorts of folkes, that may be entised to this art, to wit, learned or vnlearned: so is there two meanes, which are the first *Sorcerers* vp & feeders of their curiosity, thereby to make them

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to giue themselves ouer to the same : Which two meanes, I call the Diuels schoole, and his rudiments. The learned haue their curiositie wakened vp; and fedde by that which I call his schoole: this is the *Astrologie* iudicial, For diuers men hauing attained to a great perfection in learning, and yet remaining ouer-bare (alas) of the Spirit of regeneration and fruits thereof: finding all naturall things common, aswell to the stupide pedants as vnto them, they assay to vendicate vnto them a greater name, by not onely knowing the course of things heauenly, but likewise to clim to the knowledge of things to come thereby. Which, at the first face appearing lawfull vnto them, in respect the ground thereof seemeth to proceed of naturall causes onelic: they are so allured thereby, that finding their practise to proue true in sundrie things, they studie to know the cause thereof: and so mounting from degree to degree, vpon the slipperie and vncertaine scale of curiositie; they are at last enticed, that where lawfull artes or sciences failes, to satisfie their restlesse minds, euen to seeke to that black and vnlawfull science of *Magie*. Where, finding at the first, that such diuers formes of circles and conjurations rightlie ioined thereunto, will raise such diuers formes of spirits, to resoluē them of their doubts: and attributing the doing thereof, to the power inseparably tied, or inherent in the circles: and many words of God, confusedlie wrapped in; they boldly glorie of themselves, as if they had by their quicknes of ingine, made a conquest of *Plutoes* domi-

dominion, and were become Emperours ouer the *Stygian* habitacles. Where, in the meane time (miserable wretches) they are become in verie deede, bond-slaves to their mortall enemy: and their knowledge, for all that they presume thereof, is nothing increased, except in knowing euill, and the horrors of Hell for punishment thereof, as *Adams* ^{Gen. 3.} was by the eating of the forbidden tree.

CHAP. IIII ARGV.

The Description of the Rudiments and Schoole, which are the entresses to the arte of Magie: And in speciall the differences betwixt Astronomie and Astrologie: Division of Astrologie in diuers partes.

PHILOMATHES.

BVT I pray you likewise forger not to tel what are the Deuilles rudimentes.

EPI. His rudiments, I call first in generall, all that which is called vulgarly the vertue of worde, herbe, & stone: which is vsed by vnlawfull charmes, without naturall causes. As likewise all kinde of practiques, freites, or other like extraordinarie actions, which cannot abide the true touche of naturall reason.

PHI. I would haue you to make that plainer, by some particular examples; for your proposition is verie generall.

EPI. I meane either by such kinde of Charmes as commonlie daſte wiues vses, for healing of forspoken goodes, for preserving them from euill

eyes, by knitting roun trees, or sundriest kinde of hearbes, to the haire or taitles of the goods: by curing the worne, by stemming of bloud, by healing of Horle-crookes, by turning of the riddle, or doing of such like innumerable things by words, without applying anie thing, meere to the part offended, as Mediciners doe: Or else by slaying married folkes, to haue naturally adoe with other (by knitting so manie knottes vpon a point at the time of their marriage) And such-like things, which men vse to practise in their merriness: For ita vnlearned men (being naturally curious, and lacking the true knowledge of God) finde these practises to proue true, as sundrie of them will do, by the power of the diuell for deceiuing men, and not by anie inherent vertue in these vaine words and freites; and being desirous to winne a reputation to themselves in such-like turnes, they either (if they be of the shamefaster sort) seeke to be learned by some that are experimented in that Arte (not knowing it to bee euill at the first) or else being of the grosser sorte, runnes directly to the diuell for ambition or desire of gaine, and plainly contracts with him thereupon.

PHI. But me thinks these means which yee call the Schoole and rudiments of the Diuell, are things lawfull, and haue bene approoued for such in all times and ages: as in speciall, this science of *Astrologie*, which is one of the speciall members of the *Mathematicques*.

ERI. There are two things which the learned haue

haue obserued from the beginning, in the science of the Heavenly Creatures, the Planets, Starres, and such like: The one is their course and ordinary motions, which for that cause is called *Astronomia*. Which word is a compound of $\alpha\sigma\tau\omicron\nu\omicron\mu\omicron$ and $\alpha\sigma\tau\epsilon\tau\alpha$, that is to say, the law of the Starres: And this Arte indeede is one of the members of the *Mathematicques*, and not only lawfull, but most necessary & commedable. The other is called *Astrologia*, being compounded of $\alpha\sigma\tau\epsilon\tau\alpha$ & $\lambda\omicron\gamma\omicron\varsigma$, which is to say, the word and preaching of the starres: Which is diuided in two parts: The first, by knowing thereby the powers of simples, and sicknesses, the course of the seasons and the weather, being ruled by their influence; which part depending vpon the former, although it be not of it self a part of *Mathematicques*; yet it is not vnlawful, being moderately vsed, suppose not so necessarie and commendable as the former. The second part is to trust so much to their influences, as thereby to fore-tell what common-weales shall flourish or decay: what persons shall bee fortunate or vnfortunate: what side shall winne in anie battell: what man shall obtaine victorie at singular combate: what way, and of what age shall men die: what horle shall winne at match-running; and diuerse such like incredible things, wherein *Cardanus*, *Cornelius Agrippa*, and diuers others haue more curioully then profitably written at large. Of this roote last spoken of, springs innumerable branches; such as the knowledge by the natiuities; the *Cheironomie*,

Geomantie, Hydromantie, Arithmantie, Physiognomie: & a thousand others: which were much practised, & holden in great reuerence by the *Gentiles* of old. And this last part of *Astrologie* whereof I haue spoken, which is the root of their branches, was called by them *pars fortunæ*. This parte now is vnterlie vnlawful to be trusted in, or practized amongst christians, as leaning to no ground of naturall reason: & it is this part which I called before the devils schoole.

PHI. But yet manie of the learned are of the contrarie opinion.

EPI. I grant, yet I could giue my reasons, to fortifie & maintaine my opinion, if to enter into this disputation it wold not draw me quite off the ground of our discourses; besides the nus-pending of the whole daie thereupon: One word onely I will answer to them, & that in the Scriptures (which must be an infallible ground to all true Christians) That in the Prophet *Jeremie* it is plainelie forbidden, to beleue or harken vnto them that Prophecies and fore-speaks by the course of the Planets & Starres.

Jerem. 10.

CHAP. V. ARGV.

*How farre the vsing of Charmes is lawfull or vnlawfull
The description of the formes of Circles and Coniurationes. And what causeth the Magicians themselves to wearie thereof.*

PHILOMATHES.

WEL, Ye haue saide far enough in that argument. But how prooue ye now that these charmes

charmes or vnnaturall practiques are vnlawfull: For so, manie honest and merrie men and women haue publickly practized some of them, that I think if ye would accuse them al of witch-craft, ye would affirme more nor ye will be beleued in.

EPI. I see if you had taken good tent (to the nature of that word, whereby I named it,) ye wold not haue beene in this doubt, nor mistaken me, so farre as ye haue done: For although, as none can be schollers in a schoole, & not be subiect to the matter thereof: so none can studie and put in practize (for studie the alone, and knowledge, is more perilous nor offensiue; and it is the practise onely that makes the greatnesse of the offence.) The circles & art of *Magie*, without committing an horrible defection from God: And yet as they that reades and learns their rudiments, are not the more subject to anie school-master, if it please not their parents to put them to the schoole thereafter; So they who ignoratly proues these practiques, which I cal the diuels rudiments, vnknowing them to be baits, casten out by him, for trapping such as God will permit to fall into his hands: This kind of folks I say, no doubt, are to be judged the best of, in respect they vse no inuocation nor helpe of him (by their knowledge at least) in these turnes, & so haue neuer entred theselues into Sathans seruice; Yet to speake trulie for mine owne part (I speake but for my selfe) I desire not to make so neere riding: For in my opinion our enemy is ouer craftie, and we ouer weake (except the greater grace of God) to assay such hazards, wherein he preales to trap vs.

PHI.

apparitiones, that that craftie spirit illudes them with, and of all such particulars in that action, I remit it to ouer-manie that haue busied their heades in describing of the same; as being but curious, and altogether vnprofitable. And this farre onelie I touch, that when the conjured Spirit appears, which will not be while after manie circumstances, long praiers, and much muttering and murmuring of the conjurers; like a *Papist* priest, dispatching a hunting *Masse*: how sone I say, he appears, if they haue missed one iote of all their rites; or if any of their feete once slyd ouer the circle through terror of his feareful apparition, he payes himselfe at that time in his owne hande, of that due debt which they ought him; and other-wise would haue delayed longer to haue payed him: I meane hee carries them with him bodie and soule. If this be not now a just cause to make them wearie of these formes of conjuration, I leaue it to you to judge vpon; considering the long-someneffe of the labour, the precise keeping of dayes and houres (as I haue said) The terribleneffe of apparition, and the present perrell that they stande in, in missing the least circumstance or freite, that they ought to obserue: And on the other parte, the Deuil is glad to mooue them to a plaine and square dealing with him as I said before.

CHAP.

CHAP. VI. ARGV.

The Deuilles contract with the Magicians: The diuision thereof in two partes: What is the difference betwixt Gods miracles and the Deuils.

PHILOMATHES.

INdeed there is cause inough, but rather to leaue him at all, then to runne more plainlie to him, if they were wise he dealt with. But goe forwarde now I pray you to these turnes, fra they become once deacons in this craft.

EPI. From time that they once plainlie begin to contract with him: The effect of their contract consistes in two thinges, in formes and effectes, as I began to tell already, were it not yee interrupted me (for although the contract be mutuall; I speake first of that part, wherem the Deuill obliſhes himselfe to them) by formes, I meane in what shape or fashion he shall come vnto them, when they call vpon him. And by effectes, I vnderstand, in what special forts or seruices he binds himselfe to be subject vnto them. The qualitie of these formes and effectes, is lesse or greater, according to the skil & art of the *Magician*. For as to the formes, to some of the baser sort of them he obliſhes himselfe to appeare at their calling vpon him, by such a proper name which he shewes vnto them, either in likenes of a dog, a Catte, an Ape, or such like other beast; or else to answer by a voice onelie. The effects are to answer to such demands, as concernes curing of diseases, their owne particular menage-ry: or such other bale things as they require of him.

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But to the most curious sorte, in the formes he will oblish himselfe, to enter in a dead bodie, and there out of to giue such answers, of the euent of battels, of maters concerning the estate of commonwelths, and such like other great questions: yea, to some he will be a continuall attender, in forme of a Page: He will permit himselfe to be conjured, for the space of so many yeres, ether in a tablet or a ring, or such like thing, which they may easely carrie about with them: He giues them power to sel such wares to others, whereof some will bee dearer, and some better cheape; according to the lying or true speaking of the Spirit that is conjured therein. Not but that in verie deede, all Devils must be lyars; but so they abuse the simplicitie of these wretches, that becomes their schollers, that they make them beleue, that at the fall of *Lucifer*, some Spirites fell in the aire, some in the fire, some in the water, some in the land: In which Elementes they still remaine. Whereupon they build, that such as fell in the fire, or in the aire, are truer then they, who fell in the water or in the land, which is all but meare trattles, & forged be the author of al deceit. For they sel not be weight, as a solide substance, to stick in any one parte: But the principall part of their tal, consisting in qualitie, by the falling from the grace of God wherein they were created, they continued still thereafter, and shal do while the latter daie, in wandring through the worlde, as Gods hang-men, to executē such turnes as he employes them in. And when anie of them are not occupied in that, re-
turne

turne they must to their prison in hel (as it is plaine in the miracle that *CHRIST* wrought at *Gennezareth*) therein at the latter daie to be all enclosed for euer: and as they deceiue their schollers in this, so do they, in imprinting in them the opinion that there are so manie Princes, Dukes, and Kinges amongst them, euerie one commaunding fewer or mo Legions, and impyring in diuers artes, and quarters of the earth. For though that I will not denie that there be a forme of ordour amongst the Angels in Heauen, and consequentlie, was amongst them before their fall, yet, either that they bruike the same sensine; or that God will permit vs to know by damned Devils, such heauenlie mysteries of his, which he would not reueale to vs neither by Scripture nor Prophetes, I thinke no *Christiane* will once thinke it. But by the contrarie of all such mysteries, as he hath closed vp with his seale of secrecie; it becommeth vs to be contented with an humble ignoraunce, they being things not necessarie for our saluation. But to re-
turne to the purpose, as these formes, wherein *Sathan* oblishes himselfe to the greatest of the *Magicians*, are wonderfull curious; so are the effectes correspondent vnto the same: For he will oblish himselfe to teach them artes and sciences, which he may easelie doe, being so learned a knaue as he is: To carrie them newes from anie parte of the worlde, which the agilitie of a Spirit may easelie performe: to reueale to them the secretes of anie persons, so being they bee once spoken, for the
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thought none knowes but G O D; except so far as yee may ghesse by their countenance, as one who is doubtleslie learned inough in the *Physiognomie*: Yea, he will make his schollers to creepe in credite with Princes, by fore-telling them manie great things; parte true, parte false: For if all were false, he would tyme credite at all handes; but alwaies doubtfome, as his Oracles were. And he will also make them to please Princes, by faire banquets and daintie dishes, carried in short space fra the farthest part of the world. For no man doubts but he is a thiefe, and his agilitie (as I spake before) makes him to come suche speede. Such-like, he will guard his schollers with faire armies of horsemen and foote-men in appearance, Castles and fortes: Which all are but impressiones in the aire, easelie gathered by a spirite, drawing so neare to that substance himselfe: As in like maner he will learne them manie juglarie trickes at Cardes, dice, and such like, to deceiue mens senses thereby: and such innumerable false practiques; which are pro- uen by ouer-manie in this age: As they who are acquainted with that *Italian* called S C O R O yet liuing, can report. And yet are all these things but deluding of the senses, and no waies true in substance, as were the false miracles wrought by King *Pharaos* Magicians, for couerfeiting *Moyse*: For that is the difference betwixt Gods myracles and the Deuils, God is a creator, what he makes appeare in myracle, it is so in effect, As *Moyse*'s rod being casten downe, was no doubt turned in a naturall Ser-
pent:

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pent: where as the Deuill (as Gods Ape) counter- setting that by his *Magicians*, maid their wandes to appeare so, onelie to mennes outward senses: as kythed in effect by their being deuoured by the o- ther. For it is no wonder, that the Deuill may de- lude our senses, since we see by common prooffe, that simple juglars will make an hundreth things seeme both to our eies and eares otherwaies then they are. Now as to the *Magicians* part of the con- tract, it is in a word that thing, which I said before, the Deuill hunts for in all men.

P H I. Surelie ye haue said much to me in this arte, if all that you haue said be as true as wounder- full.

E P I. For the trueth in these actiones: it will be easelie confirmed, to anie that pleases to take paine vpon the reading of diuerse authenticque histo- ries, and the inquiring of daily experiences. And as for the trueth of their possibilitie, that they may be, and in what maner, I trust I haue alleaged nothing whereunto I haue not joynd such probable rea- sons, as I leaue to your ditcretion, to waie and con- sider: One word onlie I omitted; concerning the forme of making of this contract, which is either written with the *Magicians* owne blood: or else be- ing agreed vpon (in termes his schole-master) tou- ches him in some parte, though peradventure no marke remaine; as it doth with all Witches.

CHAP. VII. ARGV.

The reason why the art of Magic is vnlawfull. What punishment they merite: And who may be accounted guilty of that crime.

PHILOMATHES.

SVRELIE Ye haue made this arte to appeare verie monstrous & detestable. But what I pray you shal be said to such as mainteines this art to be lawfull, for as euill as you haue made it?

EPI. I say, they fauour of the panne them selues, or at least litle better, And yet I would be glad to heare their reasons.

PHI. There are two principallie, that euer I heard vsed; beside that which is founded vpon the cõmon Prouerb (that the *Necromancers* commands the Deuill, which ye haue already refuted) The one is grounded vpon a receiued custome: The other vpon an authoritie, which some thinkes infallible. Vpon custome, we see that diuerse Christian Princes and Magistrates seuerè punishers of Witches, will not onelie ouer-see *Magicians* to liue within their dominions; but euen some-times delight to see them prooue some of their practiques, The other reason is, that *Moyse* being brought vp (as it is expresse said in the Scriptures) *in all the sciences of the AEgyptians*, whereof no doubt, this was one of the principalles: And he notwithstanding of this arte, pleasing God, as he did, consequentlie that art professed by so godlie a man, could not be vnlawfull.

EPI.

EPI. As to the first of your reasones, grounded vpon custome: I saie, an euill custome can neuer be accepted for a good law, for the ouer great ignorance of the worde in some Princes and Magistrates, and the contempt thereof in others, moues them to sinne heauelie against their office in that poynt. As to the other reason, which seemes to be of greater weight, it it were formed in a Syllogisme; it behooued to be in manie termes, and full of fallacies (to speake in termes of *Logicque*) for first, that that generall proposition; affirming *Moyse* to be taught *in all the sciences of the AEgyptians*, should conclude that he was taught in *Magie*, I see no necessity. For we must vnderstand that the spirit of God there, speaking of sciences, vnderstandes them that are lawfull; for except they be lawfull, they are but *abusifè* called sciences, & are but ignorances, indeede: *Nam homo pius, non est homo*. Secondlie, giuing that he had bene taught in it, there is great difference, betwixt knowledge and practising of a thing (as I said before). For God knoweth all thinges, being alwaies good, and of our sinne & our infirmitie proceedeth our ignorance. Thirdlie, giuing that he had both studied and practised the same (which is more nor monstrous to be beleued by any Christian) yet wee know well inough, that before that euer the spirit of God began to call *Moyse*, he was fled out of *AEgypt*, being fourtie yeares of age, for the slaughter of an *AEgyptian*, and in his good-father *Iehrees* lande, first called at the fire but he, hauing remained there

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other fourtie yeares in exile: so that suppose he had beene the wickeddest man in the worlde before, he then became a changed and regenerat man, and very litle of olde *Moyse*: remained in him. *Abraham* was an Idolater in *Fr* of *Childeer*, before he was called: And *Paule* being called *Saule*, was a most sharp persecutor of the Saintes of God, while that name was changed.

PR. What punishment then thinke ye merites these *Magicians* and *Necromancers*?

EP. The like no doubt, that *Sorcerers* and *Witches* merites; and rather so much greater, as their error procedes of the greater knowledge, and so drawes nerer to the sin against the holy Ghost. And as I saye of them, so say I the like of all such as consults, enquires, entertaines, & oversees them, which is seene by the miserable endes of many that askes co uncill of them: For the Deuill hath neuer better tydings to tell to any, then he tolde to *Saule*: neither is it lawfull to vse so vnlawfull instrumentes,

were it neuer for so good a purpose: for that axiome in Theologie is most certaine and infallible: *Nunquam facien-*
dum est malum vi bonam
inde eueniat.

Att;

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THE SECONDE BOOKE OF DÆ- monologie.

ARGVMENT.

*The description of Sorcery & Witch-
craft in speciall.*

CHAP. I. ARGV.

*Proved by the Scripture, that such a thing can be: And
the reasons refuted of all such as would call it but an
imagination and Melancholicke humor.*

PHILOMATHES.



OW Since yee haue satisfied me nowe so fullie, concerning *Magie* or *Necromancie*, I will pray you to doe the like in *Sorcery* or *Witchcraft*.

EP. That field is likewise verie large: and although in the mouthes and penne of manie, yet fewe knowes the truth thereof, so

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wel as they beleue themfelues, as I shall fo shortly as I can, make you (God willing) as easelie to perceiue.

PHI. But I pray you before ye goe further, let mee interrupt you here with a shorte digression: which is, that many can scarcely beleue that there is such a thing as Witch-craft. Whose reasons I will shortly alleage vnto you, that ye may satisfie me as well in that, as ye haue done in the rest. For first, whereas the Scripture seemes to prooue Witch-craft to be, by diuerse examples, and speciallie by fundrie of the same, which yee haue alleaged; it is thought by some, that these places speakes of *Magicians* and *Necromancers* onlie, & not of Witches. As in special, these wise men of *Pharaohs*, that counterfeited *Moses* miracles, were *Magicians* say they, & not Witches: As likewise that *Pythonisse* that *Saul* consulted with: And so was *Simon Magus* in the new Testament, as that very stile imports. Secondly, where ye would oppone the dailie practique, & confessio of so manie, that is thought likewise to be but verie melancholicque imaginations of simple-rauing creatures. Thirdly, if Witches had such power of Witching of folkes to death, (as they say they haue) there had bene none leit alieue long sence in the world, but they: at the least, no good or godlie person of whatsoeuer estate, could haue escaped their deuillrie.

EPI. Your three reasons as I take, ar grounded the first of them *negative* vpon the Scripture: The second *affirmative* vpon Physicke: And the thirde
vpon

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vpon the certaine prooffe of experiëce. As to your first, it is most true indeede, that all these wise men of *Pharaoh* were *Magicians* of art: As likewise it appeares wel that the *Pythonisse*, with whom *Saul* consulted, was of that same profession: & so was *Simon Magus*. But yee omitted to speake of the Lawe of God, wherein are all *Magicians*, *Diuines*, *Enchanters*, *Sorcerers*, *witches*, & whatsoeuer of that kind that consultes with the Deuil, plainelie prohibited, and alike threatned against. And besides that, she who had the Spirite of *Python*, in the Actes, whose Spirite was put to silence by the Apostle, could be no other thing but a verie Sorcerer or Witche, if yee admit the vulgare distinction, to be in a manner true, whereof I spake in the beginning of our conference. For that spirite whereby she conquered such gaine to her Master, was not at her raising or commading, as she pleased to appoint, but spake by her toung, as well publickly, as priuatelie: Whereby shee seemed to draw nearer to the sort of *Demoniakes* or possessed, if that conjunction betwixt them, had not bene of her owne consent: as it appeared by her, not being tormented therewith: And by her conquesting of such gaine to her masters (as I haue already said.) As to your second reason grounded vpon Physick, in attributing their confessiones or apprehensiones, to a naturall melancholicque humour: Anie that pleases Physicallie to consider vpon the naturall humour of melancholie, according to all the Physicians, that euer writ thereupon, they shall finde that that will be
E 3 ouer

ouer short a cloak to couer their knauery with: For as the humor of Melancholie in the selfe is blacke, heauie and terrene, so are the symptomes thereof, in any persones that are subject therevnto, leannes, palenes, desire of solitude: and if they come to the highest degree therof, mere folie and *Manie*: where as by the contrarie, a great number of them that euer haue bene convict or cōfessors of Witchcraft, as may be presently scene by manie that haue at this time confessed: they are by the contrarie, I say, some of them rich and worldly-wise, some of them fatte or corpulent in their bodies, and most part of them altogether giuen ouer to the pleasures of the flesh, continuall haunting of companie, and all kind of merrines, both lawfull and vnlawfull, which are things directly contrarie to the symptomes of Melancholie, whereof I spake, and further experience daylie proues how loath they are to confesse without torture, which witnesseth their guiltines, where by the contrary, the Melancholicques neuer spare to bewray themselues, by their continuall discourses, feeding thereby their humor in that which they thinke no crime. As to your third reason, it scarsely merites an answer. For if the deuill their master were not bridled, as the scriptures teacheth vs, suppose there were no men nor women to be his instruments, hee could finde waies inough without anie helpe of others to wrack all mankind: wherevnto he employes his whole study, and *goeth about*

1. Pet. 5. like a roaring Lyon (as PETER saith) to that effect, but the limites of his power were set down before the

foun-

foundations of the world were laid, which he hath not power in the least jote to transgresse. But beside all this, there is ouer greate a certainty to proue that they are, by the daily experience of the harms that they do, both to men, and whatsoeuer thing men possesse, whome God will permit them to be the instruments, so to trouble or visite, as in my discourse of that arte, yee shall heare clearely proved.

CHAP. II. ARGV.

The Etymologie and signification of that word of Sorcerie. The first entresse and printshippe of them that giues themselues to that craft.

PHILOMATHES.

Come on then I pray you, and returne where ye left.

EPI. This word of *Sorcerie* is a *Latine* worde, which is taken from casting of the lot, & therefore he that vseth it, is called *Sortarius à sorte*. As to the word of *Witchcraft*, it is nothing but a proper name giuen in our language. The cause wherefore they were called *sortarij*, proceeded of their practiques seeming to come of lot or chance: Such as the turning of the riddle: the knowing of the forme of prayers, or such like tokens: If a person deceated woulde liue or dye. And in generall, that name was giuen them for vsing of such charmes, and freites, as that *Crafte* teacheth them. Manie poynts of their craft and practiques are common

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betwixt the *Magicians* and them: for they serue both one Master, although in diuerse fashions. And as I deuided the *Necromancers*, into two sorts, learned and vnlearned; so must I denie them in other two, riche and of better accompt, poore and of basset degree. These two degrees now of persones, that practises this craft, answers to the passions in them, which (I told you before) the Deuil vsed as meanes to intyle them to his seruice, for such of them as are in great miserie and pouertie, he allures to follow him, by promising vnto them greate riches, and worldlie commoditie. Such as though riche, yet burnes in a desperat desire of reuenge, hee allures them by promises, to get their turne satisfied to their hartes contentment. It is to be noted nowe, that that olde and craftie enemy of ours, assailes none, though touched with any of these two extremities, except he first finde an entresse reddey for him, either by the great ignorance of the person he deales with, ioyned with an euill life, or else by their carelesnes and contempt of God: And finding them in an vtter despair, for one of these two former causes that I haue spoken of; hee prepares the way by feeding them craftely in their humour, and filling them further and further with despaire, while he finde the time proper to discover himself vnto them. At which time, either vpon their walking solitarie in the fieldes, or else lying panning in their bed; but alwaies without the company of any other, he either by a voyce, or in likenesse of a man inquires of them, what troubles them: and promi-

seth

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seth them, a suddaine and certaine waie of remedie, vpon condition on the other parte, that they follow his advise, and doe such things as hee will require of them: Their mindes beeing prepared before hand, as I haue already spoken, they casely agreed vnto that demaund of his: And syne settes an other tryist, where they may meete againe. At which time, before hee proceede any further with them, hee first perswades them to addiet themselues to his seruice: which being casely obtained, he then discouers what he is vnto them: makes them to renounce their God and Baptisme directly, and giues them his marke vpon some secreit place of their bodie, which remaines soare vnhealed, while his next meeting with them, and thereafter euer insensible, howsoeuer it be nipped or pricked by any, as is daily prooued, to giue them a prooffe thereby, that as in that dooing, hee coulede hurte and heale them; so all their ill and well doing thereafter, must depend vpon him. And besides that, the intollerable dolour that they feele in that place, where hee hath marked them, serues to waken them, and not to let them rest, while their next meeting againe: fearing lest otherwayes they might eyther forget him, being as new Prentises, and not well enough founded yet, in that fiendly follie: or else remembering of that horrible promise they made him, at their last meeting, they might skunner at the same, and preasse to call it backe. At their third meeting, hee makes a shew to be carefull to performe his promises, either by teaching them wayes how to get

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them

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themselves reuenged, if they be of that sort: Or else by teaching them lessons, howe by most vilde and vnlawfull meanes, they may obtaine gaine, and worldly commodity, if they be of the other sort.

CHAP. III. ARGV.

The Witches actions diuided in two partes. The actions proper to their owne persons. Their actions toward others. The forme of their conuentions, and adoring of their Maister.

PHILOMATHES.

YEE haue said now inough of their initiating in that ordour. It rests then that yee discourse vpon their practises, fra they be passed Prentises: for I would faine heare what is possible to them to performe in very deede. Although they serue a common Maister with the *Necromancers*, (as I haue before saide) yet serue they him in an other forme. For as the meanes are diuerse, which allures them to these vnlawfull artes of seruing of the Diuell; so by diuerse wayes vse they their practises, answering to these meanes, which first the Diuell vsed as instruments in them; though all tending to one end: To wit, the enlarging of Sathans tyrannie, and crossing of the propagation of the Kingdome of CHRIST, so farre as lyeth in the possibilitie, either of the one or other sorte, or of the Detuill their Maister. For where the *Magicians*, as allured by curiositie, in the most part of their practises, seekes principally the satisfying of the same, and to winne to themselves a popular honour and estimation:

These

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These Witches on the other parte, beeing inticed, either for the desire of reuenge, or of worldly riches, their whole practises, are either to hurte men and their gudes, or what they possesse, for satisfying of their cruell mindes in the former, or else by the wracke in quatioeuer sort, of anie whom God will permit them to haue power of, to satisfye their greedy desire in the last point.

EPI. In two parts their actions may bee diuided; the actions of their owne persons, and the actions proceeding from them towardes anie other. And this diuision being wel vnderstood, will easilie resolue you, what is possible to them to doe. For although all that they confesse is no lie vppon their parte, yet doubtlesly, in my opinion, a parte of it is not indeede, according as they take it to be: And in this I meane by the actions of their owne persons. For as I saide before, speaking of *Magie*, that the Diuell illudes the senses of these schollers of his, in many things, so say I the like of these Witches.

PHI. Then I pray you first to speak of that part of their owne persons, and syne yee may come next to their actions towards others.

EPI. To the effect that they may performe such seruices of their false Maister, as he employes them in, the Diuel as Gods Ape, counterfeites in his seruants, this seruice and forme of adoration; that God prescribed and made his seruantes to practise. For as the seruants of GOD, publikelic vses to conueene for seruing of him, so makes he them in great

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numbers to conueene (though publicly they dare not) for his seruice. As none conueenes to the adoration and worshipping of God, except they be marked with his seale, the Sacrament of Baptisme: So none serues Sathan, and conueenes to the adoring of him, that are not marked with that marke, wherof I already spake. As the Minister sent by God teacheth plainly at the time of their publike conuentions, how to serue him in spirit and truth: so that vn-cleane spirite, in his owne person teacheth his Disciples, at the time of their conueening, how to worke all kinde of mischief: And craues count of all their horrible and detestable proceedinges passed, for aduancement of his seruice. Yea that he may the more viuely counterfeite and scorne God, hee oft times makes his slaues to conueene in these very places, which are destinate and ordained for the conueening of the seruants of God (I meane by Churches) But this farre, which I haue yet saide, I not onely take it to be true in their opinions, but euen so to be indeede. For the forme that hee vsed in counterfeiting God amongst the Gentiles, makes mee so to thinke: As God spake by his Oracles, spake hee not so by his? As GOD had aswell bloudie Sacrifices, as others without bloud, had not hee the like? As God had Churches sanctified to his seruice, with Altars, Priests, Sacrifices, Ceremonies and Prayers; had hee not the like polluted to his seruice? As God gaue responses by *Vrim* and *Thummim*, gaue he not his responses by the intralls of beastes, by the singing of Fowles, and by their actions

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actions in the aire? As God by visions, dreames, and extasies reuealed what was to come, and what was his will vnto his seruantes; vsed hee not the like meanes to forewarne his slaues of things to come? Yea, euen as God loued cleanness, hated vice, and impuritie, and appoynted punishments therefore: vsed he not the like (though falsely I graunt, and but in eschewing the lesse in conuenient, to drawe them vpon a greater) yet dissimuled he not, I say, so farre as to appoynt his Priestes to keepe their bodies cleane and vndefiled, before their asking responses of him? And sained he not God to be a Protector of euery vertue, and a iust reuenger of the contrarie? This reason then moues me, that as he is that same Diuell, and as craftie now as hee was then, so will he not spare as pertely in these actions that I haue spoken of, concerning the Witches persons: But further, Witches oft times confesse, not onely his conueening in the Church with them, but his occupying of the Pulpit: Yea, their forme of adoration, to be the kissing of his hinder partes. Which though it seeme ridiculous, yet may it likewise be true, seeing we reade that in *Calicut*, hee appearing in forme of a Goate-bucke, hath publicly that vn-honest homage done vnto him, by euerie one of the people: So ambitious is hee, and greedy of honour (which procured his fall) that hee will euen imitate God in that part, where it is said, that *Moses* could see but the *hinder partes of God*, for *the brightnesse of his glorie*: And yet that speech is spoken but *ἐν ὀπίσσω τῆς δόξης*.

Exodus 33

What are the waies possible, whereby the witches may transport themselves to places far distant. And what are impossible & mere illusions of Satan. And the reasons thereof.

PHILOMATHES.

BVt by what way say they, or thinke ye it possible they can come to these vnlawfull conuentions?

EPI. There is the thing which I esteeme their senses to be deluded in, and though they lie not in confessing of it, because they thinke it to be true, yet not to be so in substance or effect: for they say, that by diuerse meanes they may conuene, either to the adoring of their Maister, or to the putting in practise any seruice of his, committed vnto their charge: one way is naturall, which is naturall riding, going or sayling, at what houre their Maister comes and aduertises them. And this way may be easilie believed: an other way is some what more strange: and yet is it possible to be true: which is by being carried by the force of the Spirite which is their conductor, either about the earth, or about the Sea swiftly, to the place where they are to meete: which I am perswaded to be likewises possible, in respect that as *Habakkuk* was carried by the Angell in that forme, to the denne where *Daniell* lay; so thinke I, the Deuill will be readie to imitate God, as well in that as in other things: which is much more possible to him to doe, being a Spirite, then to a mighty winde, being but a naturall meteore, to transporte from one place to an other, a solide bodie, as is commonlie and dayly seene in practise: But in this vio-

*Apocrypha
of Bel and
the Dragon*

lent

lent forme they cannot be carryed, but a shorthe bounds, agreeing with the space that they may retain their breath: for if it were longer, their breath could not remaine vnextinguished, their body being carryed in such a violent and forcible manner, as by example: If one fall off a small height, his life is but in perill, according to the hard or soft lighting: But if one fall from an high and stay rocke, his breath will be forcibly bannished from the bodie, before he can win to the earth, as is oft seene by experience. And in this transporting they say themselves, that they are inuisible to any other, except amongst themselves; which may also bee possible in my opinion. For if the diuell may forme what kind of impressions he pleases in the ayre, as I haue said before, speaking of *Magie*, why may he not far easilier thicken & obscure so the aire, that is next about them, by contracting it fraite together, that the beames of any other mans eyes can not pearce thorrow the same, to see them? But the third way of their coming to their conuentions, is that wherein I thinke them deluded: for some of them sayeth, that beeing transformed in the likeneffe of a little beast or foule, they will come and pearce through whatsoeuer house or Church, though all ordinarie passages be closed, by whatsoeuer open, the ayre may enter in at. And some sayeth, that their bodies lying stil, as in an extasie, their spirits wil be rauished out of their bodies, & carryed to such places. And for verifying thereof, wil giue euident tokens, as wel by witnesses that haue seene their body lying sencelesse

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40 *Dæmonologie. Second Booke.*

in the meane time, as by naming persons, whome with they mette, and giuing tokens quhat purpose was amongst them, whome otherwayes they could not haue knownen: for this forme of journeying, they affirme to vse most, when they are transported from one Country to another.

P H I. Surely I long to heare your owne opinion of this: For they are like old wiues trattles about the fire. The reasons that mooues me to thinke that these are meere illusions, are these. First, for them that are transformed in likenesse of beastes or foules, can enter through so narrow passages, although I may easily beleeuue that the Diuell coulde, by his woorkemanshippe vpon the ayre, make them appeare to be in such formes, eyther to themselues, or to others: Yet how he can contract a solide bodie within so little roome, I thinke it is directly contrary to it selfe, for to be made so little, and yet not diminished: To be so straitly drawen together, and yet feele no paine; I thinke it is so contrary to the qualitie of a naturall bodie, and so like to the little transubstantiate god in the Papistes Masse, that I can neuer beleeuue it. So to haue a quantitie, is so proper to a solide bodie, that as all Philosophers concludes, it can not be any more without one, then a spirite can haue one. For, when *Peter came out of the prison, and the doores all locked*: It was not by any contracting of his bodie in so little roome: but by the giuing place of the doore, though vn-espied by the Gaylor. And yet is there no comparision, when this is done, betwixt the power of God, and
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Actes 12.

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of the Diuel. As to their forme of extasie and spirituall transporting, it is certaine the soules going out of the bodie, is the onely definition of naturall death: and who are once dead, God forbid wee should thinke that it should lie in the power of all the Diuels in Hell, to restore them to their life againe: Although hee can put his owne spirite in a dead bodie, which the *Necromancers* commonlie practise, as yee haue heard. For that is the office properly belonging to God; and besides that, the soule once parting from the bodie, can not wander any longer in the worlde, but to the owne resting place must it goe immediately, abiding the conjunction of the bodie againe, at the latter day.

And what Christ or the Prophets did miraculously in this case, it can not in no Christian mans opinion be made common with the Diuell. As for any tokens that they giue for proouing of this, it is verie possible to the Diuelles craft, to perswade them to these meanes. For hee being a spirite, may hee not so rauish their thoughts, and dull their senses, that their bodie lying as dead, hee may obieect to their spirites, as it were in a dreame, and (as the Poets write of *Morphens*) represent such formes of persons, of places, and other circumstances, as hee pleases to illude them with? Yea, that hee may deceiue them with the greater efficacie, may hee not at that same instant, by fellowe Angelles of his, illude such other persons so in that same fashion, whome with hee makes them to beleeuue that they mette; that all their reportes and tokens, though

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generally examined, may euery one agree with another. And that whatsoeuer actions, either in hurting men or beasts; or whatsoeuer other thing that they falslie imagine, at that time to haue done, may by himselfe or his marrowes, at that same time be done indeede; so as if they would giue for a token of their being rauished at the death of such a person within so shorte space thereafter, whom they beleeuue to haue poysoned, or witched at that instant, might hee not at that same houre, haue smitten that same person, by the permission of GOD, to the farther deceiuing of them, and to moue others to beleeuue them? And this is surely the likeliest way, and most according to reason, which my judgement can finde out in this, and whatsoeuer other vnnaturall poyntes of their confession. And by these meanes shall we saile surely, betwixt *Charybdis* and *Scylla*, in eschewing the not beleeuing of them altogether on the one parte, lest that drawe vs to the errour, that there is no Witches: and on the other parte in beleeuing of ir, make vs to eschewe the falling into innumerable absurdities, both monstrously against all Theologie diuine, and Philosophie humane.

CHAP. V. ARGV.

Witches actions towards others. Why there are more women of that craft then men? What things are possible to them to effectuate by the power of their master. The reasons thereof. What is the surest remedie of the harmes done by them.

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PHILOMATHES.

FORsooth your opinion in this, seemes to carrie most reason with it, and since yee haue ended, then the actions belonging properly to their owne persons: say forward now to their actions vsed towards others.

EPH. In their actions vsed towards others, three things ought to be considered: First, the manner of their consulting thereupon: Next, their part as instruments: And last, their maisters part, who puts the same in execution. As to their consultations thereupon, they vse them oftent in the Churches, where they conueene for adoring: at what time their maister enquiring at them what they would be at: euerie one of them propones vnto him, what wicked turne they would haue done, either for obtaining of riches, or for reuenging them vpon any whom they haue malice at: who graunting their demaund, as no doubt willingly he will, since it is to doe euill, hee teacheth them the meanes whereby they may do the same. As for litle trifling turnes that women haue adoe with, hee causeth them to ioynt dead corpses, and to make powders thereof, mixing such other things thereamongst, as he giues vnto them.

PHI. But before yee goe further, permit me, I pray you, to interrupt you one word, which yee haue put mee in memorie of, by speaking of Women. What can be the cause that there are twentie women giuen to that craft, where there is one man?

EPH. The reason is easie, for as that sexe

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is frailer then man is, so is it easier to be intrapped in these grosse snares of the Diuell, as was ouerwell proued to be true, by the Serpents deceiuing of *Eua* at the beginning, which makes him the homelier with that sex sensine.

PHI. Returne now where ye left.

EPI. To some others at these times hee teacheth, how to make Pictures of waxe or clay : That by the roasting thereof, the persons that they beare the name of, may be continually melted or dried away by continuall sicknesse. To some hee giues such stones or poulders, as wil helpe to cure or cast on diseases : And to some hee teacheth kindes of vncouthe poysons, which Mediciners vnderstandes not (for hee is farre cunninger then man in the knowledge of all the occult proprieties of nature) not that any of these meanes which hee teacheth them (except the poysons which are composed of things naturall) can, of themselues, helpe any thing to these turnes, that they are employed in, but onely being Gods Ape, as well in that, as in all other things. Euen as God by his Sacraments which are earthly of themselues workes a heauenlie effect, though no wayes by any cooperation in them : And as Christ by clay and spittle wrought together, *opened the eyes of the blinde man*, suppose there was no vertue in that which hee outwardly applied, so the Diuell will haue his out-warder meanes to be shewes, as it were of his doing, which hath no parte of cooperation in his turnes with him, how farre that euer the ignorants be abused
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John 9.

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in the contrarie. And as to the effectes of these two former partes, to wit, the consultations and the out-warder meanes, they are so woonderfull, as I dare not alleadge any of them, without ioyning a sufficient reason of the possibilitie thereof. For leauing all the small trifles among wiues, and to speake of the principall poyntes of their craft. For the common trifles thereof, they can doe without conuerting well enough by themselues : These principall poyntes I say are these : They can make men or women to loue or hate other, which may be verie possible to the Diuell to effectuate, seeing hee being a subtile spirite, knowes wel enough how to perswade the corrupted affection of them whome God will permit him so to deale with : They can lay the sicknesse of one vpon another, which likewise is verie possible vnto him : For since by Gods permission, hee layed sicknesse vpon *Iob*, why may he not farre easilier lay it vpon any other : For as an old practitian, he knowes wel enough what humour domines most in any of vs, and as a spirite he can subtilie walken vp the same, making it peccant, or to abounde, as hee thinkes meete for troubling of vs, when God will so permit him. And for the taking off of it, no doubt hee will be glad to relieue such of present paine, as hee may thinke by these meanes to perswade to be caught in his euerlasting snares and fetters. They can bewitch and take the life of men or women, by roasting of the Pictures, as I spake of before, which likewise is verie possible to their Maister to performe, for although (as I saide

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before) that instrument of waxe haue no vertue in that turne dooing, yet may hee not very well, euen by the same measure that his conjured slaues melts that wax at the fire, may hee not, I say, at these same times, subtilly, as a spirite, so weaken and scatter the spirites of life of the patient, as may make him on the one parte, for faintnesse, to sweate out the humour of his bodie : And on the other parte, for the not concurrence of these spirites, which causes his digestion, so debilitate his stomack, that this humour radicall continually, sweating out on the one parte, and no new good sucke being put in the place thereof, for lacke of digestion on the other, hee at last shall vanish away, euen as his picture will doe at the fire. And that knauish and cunning workeman, by troubling him, onely at some times, makes a proportion, so neere betwixt the woorking of the one and the other, that both shall ende as it were at one time. They can rayse stormes and tempests in the ayre, eyther vpon Sea or land, though not vniuersally, but in such a particular place and prescribed boundes, as God will permitte them so to trouble : Which likewise is verie easie to be discerned from any other naturall tempests that are meteores, in respect of the suddaine and violent raising thereof, together with the short induring of the same. And this is likewise very possible to their Maister to do, he hauing such affinitie with the ayre as being a spirite, and hauing such power of the forming and moouing thereof, as ye haue heard me already declare: For
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in the Scripture, that stile of, *the Prince of the ayre*, *Ephes. 2.* is giuen vnto him. They can make folkes to become Phrenticque or Maniacque, which likewise is verie possible to their Maister to do, since they are but naturall sickneses : and so he may lay on these kindes, as well as any others. They can make spirits, eyther to follow and trouble persons, or haunt certaine houses, and affray oftentimes the inhabitants : as hath beene knowen to be done by our Witches at this time. And likewise they can make some to bee possessed with spirits, & so to become very Dæmoniacques : and this last sorte is very possible likewise to the Diuell their Maister to doe, since he may easily send his owne Angels to trouble in what forme he pleases, any whom God wil permit him so to vse.

PHI. But will God permit these wicked instruments by the power of the Diuell their Maister, to trouble by anie of these meanes, anie that beleeueth in him?

EPI. No doubt, for there are three kinde of folkes whom God will permit so to be tempted or troubled ; the wicked for their horrible sinnes, to punish them in the like measure ; The godly that are sleeping in any great sinnes or infirmities and weakenesse in faith, to waken them vp the faster by such an vncouth forme : and euen some of the best, that their patience may be tryed before the world, as Iob was. For why may not God vse any kinde of extraordinarie punishment, when it pleases him ; as well as the ordinary rods of sicknesse or other aduersities.

PHI.

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PHI. Who then may be free from these diuelliſh practiſes?

EPH. No man ought to preſume ſo farre as to promiſe any impunitie to himſelfe: for God hath before all beginnings, præordinated, as well the particular ſortes of plagues, as of benefites for euerie man, which in the owne time hee ordaines them to be viſited with, and yet ought we not to be the more afraid for that, of anie thing that the Diuel and his wicked inſtruments can doe againſt vs: For wee daily fight againſt the Diuel in a hundreth other wayes: And therefore, as a valiant Captaine affraies no more being at the combate, nor ſtaves from his purpoſe for the rummiſhing ſhorte of a canon, nor the ſmal clacke of a Piſtolet: ſuppoſe he be not certaine what may light vpon him; Euen ſo ought we boldly to goe forwarde in fighting againſt the Diuel without any greater terrour, for theſe his rareſt weapons, nor for the ordinarie whereof wee haue daily the prooffe.

PHI. Is it not lawfull then, by the helpe of ſome other Witch, to cure the diſeaſe that is caſten on by that craft?

EPH. No wayes lawfull: For I gaue you the reaſon thereof in that axiome of Theologic, Which was the laſt wordes I ſpake of *Magie*.

PHI. How then may theſe diſeaſes be lawfully cured?

EPH. Onelie by earneſt prayer vnto God, by amendement of their liues, and by ſharpe purſuing euerie one, according to his calling of theſe inſtruments

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mentes of Sathan, whoſe puniſhment to the death will be a ſalutarie ſacrifice for the patient. And this is not onely the lawfull way, but likewiſe the moſt ſure: For by the Deuils meanes, *can neuer the Diuell be caſten out,* as Chriſt ſayeth. And when ſuch a cure is uſed, it may wel ſerue for a ſhort time, but at the laſt, it will doubtleſſie tend to the vtter perdition of the patient, both in bodie and ſoule. *Mark 3.*

CHAP. VI. ARGV.

What ſorte of folkes are leaſt or moſt ſubiect to receiue harme by Witchcraft. What power they haue to harme the Magiſtrate, and vpon what reſpects they haue any power in priſon: And to what end may or will the Deuill appeare to them therein. Vpon what reſpectes the Deuill appeires in ſundry ſhapes to ſundry of them at any time.

PHILOMATHES.

BUt who dare take vpon him to puniſh them, if no man can be ſure to be free from their vnnatural inuaſiones?

EPH. We ought not the more of that reſtraine from vertue, that the way wherby we climbe thereunto be ſtraight and perriſous. But beſides that, as there is no kinde of perſones ſo ſubiect to receiue harme of them, as theſe that are of infirme and weake faith (which is the beſt buckler againſt ſuch inuaſiones): ſo haue they ſo ſmal power ouer none, as ouer ſuch as zealouſſie and earneſtlic perſewes them, without ſparing for anie worldlie reſpect.

PHI. Then they are like the Peſt, which ſmites theſe ſickareſt, that flies it fartheſt, and apprehends

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deeplest the perrell thereof.

EPI. It is euen so with them: For neither is it able to them to vse anie false cure vpon a patient, except the patient first belecue in their power, and so hazard the tinsell of his own soule, nor yet can they haue lesse power to hurt any, nor such as contemns most their doinges, so being it comes of faith, and not of anie vaine arrogancie in themselues.

PHI. But what is their power against the Magistrate?

EPI. Lesse or greater, according as he deales with them. For if he be slouthfull towards them, God is verie able to make them instrumentes to waken & punish his slouth. But if he be the contrarie, he according to the iust law of God, and allowable law of al Nations, will be diligent in examining and punishing of them: **GOD** will not permit their master to trouble or hinder so good a worke.

PHI. But fra they be once in hands and firmance, haue they any further power in their craft?

EPI. That is according to the forme of their detention. If they be but apprehended and detained by anie priuate person, vpon other priuate respectes, their power no doubt either in escaping, or in doing hurte, is no lesse nor euer it was before. But if on the other parte, their apprehending and detention be by the lawfull Magistrate, vpon the iust respectes of their guiltinesse in that craft, their power is then no greater then before that euer they medled with their master. For where **God** beginnes iustlie to strike by his lawfull Lieutenantes, it is not in the Deuilles power to de-
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fraude or bereaue him of the office, or effect of his powerfull and reuenging Scepter.

PHI. But wil neuer their master come to visit thē, fra they be once apprehended & put in firmance?

EPI. That is according to the estate that these miserable wretches are in: For if they be obstinate in still denying, he will not spare, when hee findes time to speake with thē, either if he find thē in any comfort, to fil them more and more with the vaine hope of some maner of reliefe: or else if he finde them in a deepe dispaire, by all meanes to augment the same, & to perswade them by some extraordinarie meanes to put themselues downe, which very commonlie they doe. But if they be penitent and confesse, **God** will not permit him to trouble them anie more with his presence and allurements.

PHI. It is not good vsing his counsell I see then. But I would earnestly know when he appeares to them in prison, what formes vses he then to take?

EPI. Diuers formes, euē as he vses to do at other times vnto them. For as I told you, speaking of *Magie*, he appeares to that kind of craftes-men ordinarily in an forme, according as they agree vpon it amongst themselues: Or if they be but prentises, according to the qualitie of their circles or conjurations. Yet to these capped creatures, he appeares as he pleases, and as he findes meetest for their humors. For euen at their publicke conventiones, he appeares to diuers of them in diuers formes, as we haue found by the difference of their confessions in that point: For he deluding them with vaine impressions in the aire, makes himsele to seeme

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more terrible to the grosser sorte, that they maie thereby be moued to feare and reuerence him the more: And les monstrous and vncouth like againe to the craftier sorte, least otherwaies they might sturre and skunner at his vglinesse.

PHI. How can he then be felt, as they confesse they haue done him, if his bodie be but of aire?

EPI. I heare little of that amongst their cōfessions, yet may he make himselfe palpable, either by assuming anie dead bodie, and vsing the ministrie therof, or else by deluding as well their sence of feeling as seeing; which is not impossible to him to do, since all our senses, as we are so weake, and euen by ordinarie sicknesses will be often times deluded.

PHI. But I would speere one word further yet, cōcerning his appearing to them in prison, which is this. May anie other that chances to be present at that time in the prison, see him as well as they,

EPI. Some-times they will, and some-times not, as it pleases God.

CHAP. VII. ARGV.

Two formes of the deuils visible conuersing in the earth, with the reasons wherefore the one of them was commonest in the time of Papistrie: And the other sensine. Those that denies the power of the Deuill, denies the power of God, and are guiltie of the error of the Sadduces.

PHILOMATHES.

HAth the Deuill then power to appeare to any other, except to such as are his sworne disciples: especially since al Oracles, & such like kinds of illusions

illusions were taken away and abolished by the cumming of CHRIST?

EPI. Although it be true indeede, that the brightnesse of the Gospell at his cumming, scaled the cloudes of all these grosse errors in the Gentilisme: yet that these abusing spirites, ceases not sensine at sometimes to appeare, dailie experience teaches vs. Indeed this difference is to be marked betwixt the formes of Sathans conuersing visibly in the world. For of two different formes thereof, the one of them by the spreading of the Euangell, and conquest of the white horse, in the sixt Chapter of the Reuelation, is much hindred and become rather there through. This his appearing to any Christians, troubling of them outwardly, or possessing of them constrainedly. The other of them is become cōmuner and more vsed sensine, I meane by their vnlawfull artes, wherupon our whole purpose hath bene. This we finde by experience in this Ile to be true. For as we know, moe Ghosts & spirites were seene, nor tongue can tell, in the time of blind Papistrie in these Countries, where now by the contrary, a man shall scarcely all his time heare once of such things. And yet were these vnlawfull artes farre rarer at that time: and neuer were so much harde of, nor so rife as they are now.

PHI. What should be the cause of that?

EPI. The diuerse nature of our finnes procures at the Iustice of God, diuerse sorts of punishments answering thereunto. And therefore as in the time of Papistrie, our fathers erred grossely, & through

ignorance, that mist of errors ouershaddowed the Deuill to walke the more familiarlie amongst them: And as it were by barnelie and affraying terrours, to mocke and accuse their barnelie errors. By the contrarie, we now being founde of Religion, and in our life rebelling to our professi. on, God iustly by that sinne of rebellion, as *Samuel* calleth it, accuseth our life so wilfullie fighting a gainst our profession.

PHI. Since yee are entred nowe to speake of the appearing of spirites: I would be glad to heare your opinion in that matter. For manie denies that any such spirites can appeare in these daies as I haue said.

EPI. Doubtleslie who denieth the power of the Deuill, would likewise denie the power of God, if they could for shame. For since the Deuill is the verie contrarie opposite to God, there can be no better way to know God, then by the contraries; as by the ones power (though a creature) to admire the power of the great Creator: by the fals hood of the one to consider the truth of the other, by the injustice of the one, to consider the Iustice of the other: And by the crueltie of the one, to consider the mercifulnesse of the other: And so foorth in al the rest of the essence of God, and qualities of the Deuill. But I feare indeed, there be oner many *Saduces* in this world, that denies all kindes of spirites: For convicting of whose errour, there is cause i-nough if there were no more, that God should permit at sometimes spirites visibly to kyith.

THE



THE THIRDE BOOKE OF DÆMO- nologie.

ARGUMENT.

*The description of all these kindes of
Spirites that troubles men or wo-
men. The conclusion of the whole
Dialogue.*

CHAP. I. ARGV.

*The division of spirites in foure principall kindes. The de-
scription of the first kinde of them, called Spectra &
vmbrae mortuorum. What is the best way to be free
of their trouble.*

PHILOMATHES.



Pray you now then go forward in telling what ye thinke fabulous, or may be trowed in that case.

EPI. That kinde of the Deuils conuersing in the earth, may bee diuided in foure differente kindes, whereby hee affrayeth and troubleth the bodies of men: For of the abusing of the soule,

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56 *Dæmonologie. Third booke.*

I haue spoken a readie. The first is, where spirites troubles some houses or solitarie places : The second, where spirites follows vpon certaine persons, and at diuers houres troubles them : The thirde, when they enter within them and possesse them : The fourth is these kinde of spirites that are called vulgarlie the Fayrie. Of the three former kindes, ye haue alreadye, how they may artificiallie be made by Witch-craft to trouble folke: Now it restes to speake of their naturall coming as it were, and not rayfed by Witch-craft. But generally I must for-warne you of one thing before I enter in this purpose: that is, that although in my discourseing of them, I deuide them in diuers kindes, yee must notwithstanding there of note my Phrase of speaking in that : For doubtleslie they are in effect, but all one kinde of spirites, who for abusing the more of mankinde, takes on these sundrie shapes, and vies diuerse formes of out-ward actiones, as if some were of nature better then other. Nowe I returne to my purpose: As to the first kinde of these spirites, that were called by the auncients by diuers names, according as their actions were. For if they were spirites that haunted some houses, by appearing in diuers and horrible formes, and making greate dinne: they were called *Lemures* or *Spectra*. If they appeared in likenesse of anie defunct to some friends of his, they were called *umbra mortuorum* : And so innumerable stiles they got, according to their actiones, as I haue said alreadye. As we see by experience, how manie stiles they haue giuen

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uen them in our language in the like maner : Of the appearing of these spirites, wee are certified by the Scriptures, where the Prophet *Esay* 13. and 34. chap. threatning the destruction of *Ierusalem* : *Esay. 13. Iere. 50.* declares, that it shall not onely bee wracked, but shall become so great a solitude, as it shall be the habitacke of Howlettes, and of *Ziim* and *lim*, which are the proper Hebrew names for these Spirites. The cause why they haunte solitarie places, it is by reason, that they may affraye and brangle the more the faith of such as them alone hauntes such places. For our nature is such, as in companies wee are not so soone moued to any such kinde of feare, as being solitarie, which the Diuell knowing well inough, hee will not therefore assaile vs but when wee are weake : And besides that, GOD will not permit him so to dishonour the societies and companies of Christians, as in publike times and places to walke visibly amongst them. On the other part, when he troubles certaine houses that are dwelt in, it is a sure token either of grosse ignorance, or of some grosse and slaunderous sinnes amongst the inhabitants thereof : which God by that extraordinary rod punishes.

PHI. But by what way or passage can these Spirites enter in these houses, seeing they alledge that they will enter, Doore and Windowe being stiked?

EPI. They will choose the passage for theyr entresse, according to the forme that they are in at
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them beleue that it was some good spirite that appeared to them then, either to forewarne them of the death of their friend; or else to discouer vnto them, the will of the defunct, or what was the way of his slaughter, as it is written in the booke of the histories Prodigious. And this way he easily deceiued the *Gentiles*, because they knew not God: And to that same effect is it, that he now appears in that maner to some ignorant Christians. For he dare not so illude any that knoweth that, neither can the spirite of the defunct returne to his friend, or yet an Angell vse such formes.

PHI. And are not our war-woolfes one sorte of these spirites also, that hauntes and troubles some houses or dwelling places?

EP 1. There hath indeede bene an old opinion of such like thinges; For by the *Creekes* they were called *Νεκροσπυριτοι* which signifieth men-woolfes: But to tell you simplie my opinion in this, if anie such thing hath bene, I take it to haue proceeded but of a naturall super-abundance of Melancholie, which as we reade, that it hath made some thinke themselues Pitchers, and some horses, and some one kinde of beast or other: So suppose I that it hath so viciat the imagination and memorie of some, as *per lucida interualla*, it hath so highly occupied them, that they haue thought themselues very Woolfes indeede at these times: and so haue counterfeited their actiones in going on their handes and feete, preassing to deuoure women and barnes, fighting and snatching with all the towne dogges,

dogges, and in vsing such like other brutish actiones, and so to become beastes by a strong apprehension, as *Nebucad-netzar* was seuen yeares: but as to their hauing and hiding of their hard and schellie sluiches, I take that to be but eiked, by vncertaine report, the author of all lyes. Dan. 4.

CHAP. II. ARGV.

The description of the next two kindes of Spirites, whereof the one followes outwardlie, the other possesse inwardlie the persones that they trouble. That since all Prophecies and visions are now ceased, all spirites that appears in these formes are euill.

PHILOMATHES.

Come forward now to the rest of these kindes of spirites.

EP 1. As to the next two kindes, that is, either these that outwardly troubles and followes some persones, or else inwardly possesse them: I will conioyne them in one, because aswel the causes are alike in the persons that they are permitted to trouble: as also the waies whereby they may be remedied and cured.

PHI. What kinde of persones are they that vses to be so troubled?

EP 1. Two kindes in speciall: Either such as being guiltie of greuous offences, God punishes
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by that horrible kinde of scourge, or else being persons of the best nature peradventure, that yee shall finde in all the Countrey about them, GOD permittes them to be troubled in that sort, for the triall of their patience, and wakening vp of their zeale, for admonishing of the beholders, not to trust ouer-much in themselves, since they are made of no better stuffe, and peradventure blot-
Luk. 13. ted with no smaller sinnes (as Christ saide, speaking of them vpon whom the Tower of Sylo fell:) And for giuing likewise to the spectators, matter to praise GOD, that they meriting no better, are yet spared from being corrected in that fearefull forme.

PHI. These are good reasons for the parte of GOD, which apparantly moues him so to permit the Diuell to trouble such persons. But since the Diuell hath euer a contrary respect in all the actions that GOD employes him in: which is I pray you the end and marke he shoots at in this turne?

EPI. It is to obtaine one of two things thereby, if hee may: The one is the tinsell of their life, by inducing them to such perillous places at such time as he either followes or possessees them, which may procure the same: And such like, so farte as GOD will permit him, by tormenting them to weaken theyr body, and cast them in incurable diseases. The other thing that hee preases to obtaine by troubling of them, is the tinsell of theyr soule, by intising them to mistrust and

and blasphemie God: Either for the intollerableness of their torments, as he assayed to haue done with *Iob*; or else for his promising vnto them to leaue the troubling of them, in case they would so do, as is knowne by experience at this same time by the confession of a young one that was so troubled. *Iob. 1.*

PHI. Since ye haue spoken now of both these kindes of spirites comprehending them in one: I must now goe backe againe in speering some questions of euery one of these kindes in speciall. And first for these that followes certaine persons, yee know that there are two sortes of them: One sorte that troubles and tormentes the persons that they haunt with: An other sort that are seruiceable vnto them in all kinde of their necessaries, and omittes neuer to forewarne them of any suddaine perill that they are to be in. And so in this case, I would vnderstand whether both these sortes bee but wicked and damned spirites: Or if the last sort be rather Angelles, (as should appeare by their actions) sent by God to assist such as hee specially fauoures. For it is written in the Scriptures, that God *Gen. 32.*
1. King. 6.
Psal. 34. sendes Legions of Angels to garde and watch over his elect.

EPI. I know wel inough where fra that errour which ye alledge hath proceeded: For it was the ignorant Gentiles that were the fountaine thereof. Who for that they knew not God, they forged in their owne imaginations, euery man to be still accompanied with two spirites, whereof they called the

the one *genius bonus*, the other *genius malus*: the Greekes called them *εὐδαίμονες* & *κακῶδαίμονες*: whereof the former they said, perswaded him to all the good he did: the other entised him to all the euill. But praised be God, we that are Christians, & walks not amongst the *Cymmerian* coniectures of man, knowes well inough, that it is the good spirite of God onely, who is the fountain of all goodnes, that perswades vs to the thinking or doing of any good: and that it is our corrupted flesh and Sathan, that intiseth vs to the contrary. And yet the Diuell for confirming in the heades of ignorant Christians, that error first maintained among the Gentiles, he whiles among the first kind of spirits that I speak of, appeared in time of Papistrie and blindnesse, and haunted diuers houfes, without doing any euill, but doing as it were necessary turnes vp and downe the house: and this spirit they called *Brownie* in our language, who appeared like a rough-man: yea, some were so blinded, as to beleue that their house was all their sonfier, as they called it, that such spirites resorted there.

PHI. But since the Diuels intention in all his actions, is euer to do euill, what euill was there in that forme of doing, since their actions outwardly were good?

EPI. Was it not euill inough to deceiue simple ignorants, in making them to take him for an Angel of light, and so to account of Gods enemy, as of their particular friend: where by the contrarie, all we that are Christians, ought assuredly to knowe that

that since the coming of Christ in the flesh, and establishing of his Church by the Apostles, all miracles, visions, prophecies, & appearances of Angels or good spirites are ceased. Which serued onely for the first sowing of faith, and planting of the Church. Where now the Church being established, and the white Horse whereof I spake before, hauing made his conquest, the Law and Prophets are thought sufficient to serue vs, or make vs inexcusable, as Christ saith in his parable of *Lazarus* and the rich man.

CHAP. III. ARGV.

The description of a particular sort of that kind of following spirites, called Incubi and Succubi: And what is the reason wherefore these kindes of spirites hauntes most the Northerne and barbarous parts of the world.

PHILOMATHES.

THE next question that I would speere, is likewise concerning this first of these two kindes of spirites that ye haue conioyned: and it is this; ye know how it is commonly written and reported, that amongst the rest of the sortes of spirites that followes certaine persons, there is one more monstrous nor al the rest: in respect as it is alleaged, they conuerse naturally with them whom they trouble and hauntes with: and therefore I would know in two things your opinion herein: First if such a thing can be: and next if it be: whether there be a difference of sexes amongst these spirites or not?

EPI. That abhominable kinde of the Diuels

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abusing of men or women, was called of old, *Incubi* and *Succubi*, according to the difference of the sexes that they conuersed with. By two meanes this great kinde of abuse might possibly be performed: The one, when the Diuell onely as a spirite, and stealing out the sperme of a dead body, abuses them that way, they not graithly seeing any shape or feeling any thing, but that which he so conueyes in that part: As we reade of a Monasterie of Nunnes which were burnt for their being that way abused. The other meane is, when he borrowes a dead body and so visibly, and as it seemes vnto them naturally as a man conuerfes with them. But it is to be noted, that in whatsoever way he vseth it, that sperme seemes intollerably colde to the person abused. For if he steale out the nature of a quicke person, it cannot be so quickly carried, but it will both time the strength and heate by the way, which it could neuer haue had for lacke of agitation, which in the time of procreation is the procurer and wakener vp of these two natural qualities. And if he occupying the dead body as his lodging, expell the same out thereof in the due time, it must likewise be colde by the participarion with the qualities of the dead body whereout of it comes. And whereas ye enquire if these spirites be diuided in sexes or not, I thinke the rules of Philosophie may easily resolue a man of the contrarie: For it is a sure principle of that Art, that nothing can be diuided in sexes, except such living bodies as must haue a naturall seede to gene-
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nere by. But we know spirits hath no seede proper to themselves, nor yet can they gender one with an other.

PH 1. How is it then that they say sundry monsters haue bene gotten by that way?

EP 1. These tales are nothing but *Aniles fabule*. For that they haue no nature of their owne, I haue shewed you already. And that the cold nature of a dead body, can worke nothing in generation, it is more nor plaine, as being already dead of it selfe as well as the rest of the body is, wanting the naturall heate, and such other naturall operation, as is necessarie for working that effect, and in case such a thing were possible (which were allutterly against all the rules of nature) it would breed no monster, but onely such a naturall offspring, as would haue cummed betuixt that man or woman and that other abused person, in case they both being aliue had had a doe with other. For the Diuels parte therein, is but the naked carrying or expelling of that substance: And so it could not participate with no qualitie of the same. Indeede, it is possible to the craft of the Diuell to make a womans belly to swell after he hath that way abused her, which he may do either by stirring vp her owne humor, or by hearbes, as we see beggers daily do. And when the time of her deliury should come to make her thoil great dolours, like vnto that naturall course, and then subtilly to slippe in the Mid-wiues handes, stockes, stones, or some monstrous barne brought from some other place, but this is more reported

and gessed at by others, nor beleueed by me.

PHI. But what is the cause that this kinde of abuse is thought to be most common in such wilde parts of the worlde, as *Lap-land*, and *Fin-land*, or in our North Iles of *Orknay* and *Schet-land*?

EPI. Because where the Diuell findes greatest ignorance and barbaritie, there assailes hee grossest, as I gaue you the reason wherefore there was moe Witches of women-kinde nor men.

PHI. Can an any be so vnhappy as to giue their willing consent to the Diuels wilde abusing them in this forme?

EPI. Yea, some of the Witches haue confessed, that he hath perswaded them to giue their willing consent there vnto, that he may thereby haue them feltred the sikarer in his snares; But as the other compelled sort is to be pittied and prayed for, so is this most highly to be punished and detested.

PHI. It is not the thing which we call the *Mare*, which takes folkes sleeping in their beds, a kinde of these spirits, whereof ye are speaking?

EPI. No, that is but a naturall sicknesse, which the Mediciners hath giuen that name of *Incubus* vnto *ab incubando*, because it being a thicke fleume, falling into our breast vpon the heart, while we are sleeping, intercludes so our vitall spirits, and takes all power from vs, as makes vs think that there were some vnnaturall burden or spirit, lying vpon vs, and holding vs downe.

CHAP.

CHAP. IIII. ARGV.

The description of the Dæmoniackes & possessed. By what reason the Papists may haue power to cure them.

PHILOMATHES.

WEL, I haue tolde you now all my doubts, and ye haue satisfied me therein, concerning the first of these two kinds of spirites that yee haue conioyned. Now I am to inquire onely two things at you concerning the last kinde, I meane the Dæmoniackes. The first is, whereby shall these possessed folkes be discerned fra the that are troubled with a natural Phrensie or Manie. The next is, how can it be that they can be remedied by the Papistes Church, whome wee counting as Hereticques, it should appeare that one Diuell should not cast out another, for then would *his kingdome be diuided in it selfe*, as Christ said. *Math. 12
Mark. 3*

EPI. As to your first question; there are diuers symptomes, whereby that heauie trouble may be discerned from a naturall sicknesse, and specially three, omitting the diuers vaine signes that the Papists attributes vnto it: Such as the raging at holy water, their fleeing a backe from the Crosse, their not abiding the hearing of God named, and innumerable such like vaine things that were alike fashious and feckles to recite. But to come to these three symptomes then, whereof I spake, I account the one of them to be the incredible strength of the possessed creature, which will farre exceede the strength of fixe of the wightest and wodest of any other men that are not so troubled. The next is the

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boldning vp so far of the patients breast and bellie; with such an vnaturall stirring and vehement agitation within them: And such an ironie hardnes of his sinnowes so stiffelie bended out, that it were not possible to pricke out as it were the skinne of any other person so far: so mightely works the Diuell in all the members & senses of his body, he being locallie within the same, suppose of his soule and affections thereof, he haue no more power then of any other mans. The last is, the speaking of sundry languagues, which the patient is knowen by them that were acquainte with him neuer to haue learned, and that with an vncouth and hollowe voice, & all the time of his speaking, a greater motion being in his breast then in his mouth. But fra this last symptome is excepted such, as are altogether in the time of their possessing bereft of all their senses being possessed with a dumbe and blinde spirite, whereof Christ releiued one, in the 12. of *Mathew*. And as to your next demande, it is first to be doubted if the *Papistes* or any not professing the only true Religion, can relieue any of that trouble. And next, in case they can, vpon what respects it is possible vnto them. As to the former vpon two reasons, it is grounded: first that it is knowen so many of them to be counterfite, which wyle the Clergie inuentes for confirming of their rotten Religion. The next is, that by experience we finde that fewe, who are possessed indeede, are fully cured by them: but rather the Diuell is content to releafe the bodely hurting of them, for a short

short space, thereby to obtaine the perpetuall hurt of the foules of so many that by these false miracles may be induced or confirmed in the profession of that erroneous Religion: euen as I told you before that he doth in the false cures, or casting off of diseases by Witches. As to the other part of the argument in case they can, which rather (with reuerence of the learned thinking otherwaies) I am induced to beleeuë, by reason of the faithfull report that men sound of religion, haue made according to their sight thereof, I think if so be, I say these may be the respects, whereupon the *Papistes* may haue that power. Christ gaue a commission and power to his Apostles to cast out Diuels, which they according thereunto put in execution: The rules he had them obserue in that action, was fasting and praier: & the action it selfe to be done in his name. This power of theirs proceeded not then of any vertue in them, but onely in him who directed them. As was clearly proued by *Iudas* his hauing as great power in that commission, as any of the rest. It is easie then to be vnderstand that the casting out of Diuelles, is by the vertue of fasting and prayer, and in-calling of the name of God, suppose many imperfectiones be in the person that is the instrument, as Christ himselfe teacheth vs of the power that false Prophets shall haue to cast out Diuels. It is no wonder then, these respects of this action being considered, that it may be possible to the *Papistes*, though erring in sundry pointes of Religion to accomplish this, if they vie the right forme.

forme prescribed by Christ herein. For what the worse is that action that they erre in other things, more then their Baptisme is the worse that they erre in the other Sacrament, and haue eiked many vaine freites to the Baptisme it selfe.

PHI. Surely it is no little wonder that God should permit the bodies of any of the faithfull to be so dishonoured, as to be a dwelling place to that vncleane spirite.

EPI. There is it which I told right now, would prooue and strengthen my argument of the diuels entring in the dead bodies of the faithfull. For if he is permitted to enter in their liuing bodies, euen when they are ioyned with the soule: how much more will God permit him to enter in their dead carions, which is no more man, but the filthie and corruptible caise of man. For as Christ saith, *It is not any thing that enters within man that defiles him, but onely that which procedes and commeth out of him.*

Mark. 7.

CHAP. V. ARGV.

The description of the fourth kinde of Spirites called the Phairie: What is possible therein, and what is but illusions. How far this Dialozue entreates of all these thinges, and to what end.

PHILOMATHES.

Now I pray you come on to that fourth kinde of spirites.

EPI. That fourth kinde of spirites, which by the Gentiles was called *Diana*, and her wandring court, and amongst vs was called the *Phairie* (as I told

told you) or our good neighboures, was one of the sortes of illusions that was risest in the time of Papistrie: for although it was holden odious to Prophecie by the diuell, yet whom these kinde of Spirits carried away, and informed, they were thought to be sonliest and of best life. To speake of the many vaine trattles founded vpon that illusion: How there was a King and Queene of *Phairie*, of such a iolly court & train as they had, how they had a teynd, & dutie, as it were, of all goods: how they naturally rode and went, eate and dranke, and did all other actions like naturall men and women: I think it liker *Virgils Campi Elysij*, nor any thing that ought to be beleueed by Christians, except in generall, that as I spake sundry times before, the diuell illuded the senses of sundry simple creatures, in making them beleue that they sawe and heard such things as were nothing so indeed.

PHI. But how can it be then, that sundrie Witches haue gone to death with that confession, that they haue bin transported with the *Phairie* to such a hill, which opening, they went in, and there saw a faire Queene, who being now lighter, gaue them a stone that had sundry vertues, which at sundrie times hath bene produced in iudgement?

EPI. I say that, euen as I said before of that imaginariuishing of the spirite fourth of the body. For may not the diuell obiect to their fantasie, their senses being dulled, and as it were a sleepe, such hills & houses within them, such glistering courtes and traines, and whatsoeuer such like where-with he pleaseth to delude them. And in the meane

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time their bodies being senselesse, to conuay in their hand any stone or such like thing, which he makes them to imagine to haue receiued in such a place.

PHI. But what say ye to their fore-telling the death of sundry perſones, whom they alleage to haue ſeene in theſe places? That is, a ſooth-dreame (as they ſay) ſince they ſee it walking.

EPI. I thinke that either they haue not bene ſharply inough examined, that gaue ſo blunt a reaſon for their Propheſie, or otherwaies, I thinke it likewiſe as poſſible that the Deuill may propheſie to them when he deceiues their imaginations in that ſort, as well as when he plainly ſpeakes vnto them at other times for their propheſying, is but by a kinde of viſion, as it were, wherein he commonly counterſeites God among the Ethnicks, as I told you before.

PHI. I would know now whether theſe kinde of ſpirites may onely appeare to Witches, or if they may alſo appeare to any other.

EPI. They may do to both, to the innocent ſort, either to affraie them, or to ſeeme to be a better ſorte of folkes nor vnclane ſpirites are, and to the Witches, to be a cullour of ſafetie for them, that ignorant Magiſtrates may not puniſh them for it, as I told euen now. But as the one ſort, for being perforce troubled with them ought to be pittied, ſo ought the other ſort (who may be diſcerned by their taking vpon them to Propheſie by them,) That ſort I ſay, ought as ſeuerely to be puniſhed as any other Witches, and rather the more, that they

that they goe diſſemblyngly to worke.

PHI. And what makes the ſpirites haue ſo different names from others?

EPI. Euen the knauerie of that ſame deuill, who as hee illudes the *Necromancers* with innumerable feyned names for him and his angels, as in ſpeciall, making *Sathan, Beelzebub, & Lucifer*, to be three ſundry ſpirites, where we finde the two former, but diuers names giuen to the prince of all the rebelling angels by the Scripture. As by Chriſt, the Prince of all the Diuelles is called *Beelzebub* in that place, which I alleaged againſt the power of any hereticques to caſt out deuils. By *John* in the Reuelation, the old tempter is called *Sathan the Prince of all the euill angels*. And the laſt, to wit, *Lucifer*, is but by allegorie taken from *the day Starre* (ſo named in diuers places of the Scriptures) becauſe of his excellencie (I meane the Prince of them) in his creation before his fall. Euen ſo I ſay he deceiues the Witches, by attributing to himſelfe diuers names : as if euery diuers ſhape that he transformes himſelfe in, were a diuers kinde of ſpirit.

PHI. But I haue hard many moe ſtrange tales of this *Phairie*, nor ye haue yet told me.

EPI. As well I do in that, as I did in all the reſt of my diſcourſe. For becauſe the ground of this conference of ours, proceeded of your ſpeering at me at our meeting, if therewas ſuch a thing as Witches or ſpirites: And if they had any power : I therefore haue framed my whole diſcourſe, only to proue that ſuch things are and may be, by ſuch number of examples as I ſhow to be poſſible by reaſon: & keeps

me from dipping any further in playing the part of a Dictionary, to tell what euer I haue read or heard in that purpose, which both would exceede faith, and rather would seeme to teach such vnlawfull artes, nor to disallow and condemne them, as it is the duetie of all Christians to doe.

CHAP. VI. ARGV.

Of the tryall and punishment of Witches. What sort of accusation ought to be admitted against them. What is the cause of the increasing so farre of their number in this age.

PHILOMATHES.

THEN to make an ende of our conference, since I see it drawes late, what forme of punishment thinke yee merites these *Magicians* and Witches? For I see that ye account them to be all alike guiltie.

EPI. They ought to be put to death according to the Law of God, the ciuill and imperiall Law, and municipall Law of all Christian nations.

PHI. But what kinde of death I pray you?

EPI. It is commonly vsed by fire, but that is an indifferent thing to be vsed in euery country, according to the Law or custome thereof.

PHI. But ought no sexe, age nor rancke to be exempted?

EPI. None at all (being so vsed by the lawful magistrate) for it is the highest point of Idolatry, where in no exception is admitted by the law of God.

PHI. Then bairnes may not be spared?

EPI. Yea, not a haire the lesse of my conclusion.

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For they are not that capable of reason as to practise such things. And for any being in company and not reueiling thereof, their lesse and ignorant age will no doubt excuse them.

PHI. I see ye condemne them all that are of the counsell of such craftes.

EPI. No doubt, for as I said, speaking of *Magie*, the consulters, trusters in, ouer-seers, interteiners or sturrers vp of these craftes folkes, are equall^y guiltie with themselues that are the practisers.

PHI. Whether may the Prince then, or supream Magistrate, spare or ouer-see any that are guilty of that craft: vpō some great respects knowen to him?

EPI. The Prnce or Magistrate for further trials cause, may continue the punishing of them such a certaine space as he thinkes conuenient: But in the ende to spare the life, and not to strike when God bids strike, and so seuerely punish in so odious a fault and treason against God, it is not onely vnlawfull, but doubtlesse no lesse sinne in that Magistrate, nor it was in *Saules* sparing of *Agag*. And so comparable to the sinne of Witch-craft it selfe, as *1. Sam. 15. Samuel* alleaged at that time.

PHI. Surely then, I think since this crime ought to be so seuerely punished, Iudges ought to beware to condemne any, but such as they are sure are guiltie, neither should the clattering report of a carling serue in so weightie a case.

EPI. Iudges ought indeede to beware whom they condemne: for it is as great a crime (as *Salomon* saith,) *To condemne the innocent, as to let the* *Pro. 17.* *guiltie escape free;* nether ought the report of any

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one infamous person, be admitted for a sufficient prooffe, which can stand of no lawe.

PHI. And what may a number then of guilty persons confessions, worke against one that is accused?

EPI. The Assise must serue for interpretour of our law in that respect. But in my opinion, since in a matter of treaso against the Prince, barnes or wiues, or neuer so diffamed persons, may of our law serue for sufficient witnesses and proofes. I thinke surely that by a far greater reason, such witnesses may be sufficient in matters of high treason against God: For who but Witches can be prooues, and so witnesses of the doings of Witches.

PHI. Indeed, I trow they will be loath to put any honest man vpon their counsell. But what if they accuse folke to haue bene present at their Imaginar conuentiones in the spirite, when their bodies lyes sencelesse, as ye haue said.

EPI. I thinke they are not a haire the lesse guiltie: For the Diuell durst neuer haue borrowed their shadow or similitude to that turne, if their consent had not bene at it: And the consent in these turnes is death of the lawe.

PHI. Then *Samuel* was a Witch: For the Diuell resembled his shape, & played his person in giuing response to *Saul*.

EPI. *Samuel* was dead as well before that; and so none could slauer him with meddling in that vnlawfull Art. For the cause why, as I take it, that God will not permit Sathan to vse the shapes of similitudes of any innocent persons at such vnlawfull times, is that God will not permit that any innocent

cent persons shalbe slandered with that vile defec-tion: for then the diuel would finde waies anew, to calumniate the best. And this we haue in prooffe by them that are carried with the *Phairie*, who neuer see the shaddowes of any in that Courte, but of them that thereafter are tryed to haue bene brethren and sisters of that craft. And this was likewise proued by the confessio of a young Lasse, troubled with spirites, laide on her by Witch-craft. That although she sawe the shapes of diuers men and women troubling her, and naming the persons whom these shaddowes represents: yet neuer one of them are found to be innocent, but all clearly tryed to be most guiltie, & the most part of them confessing the same. And besides that, I thinke it hath bene seldome heard tell of, that any whome persons guiltie of that crime accused, as hauing knowne them to be their marrowes by eye-sight, and not by heare-say; but such as were so accused of Witch-craft, could not be clearly tryed vpon them, were at the least publicly knowne to be of a very euill life & reputation: so iealous is God I say, of the fame of them that are innocent in such causes. And besides that, there are two other good helpes that may be vsed for their triall: the one is the finding of their marke, and the trying the insensibleness thereof. The other is their fleeing on the water: for as in a secret murder, if the dead carkasse be at any time thereafter handled by the murtherer, it wil gush out of bloud, as if the bloud were crying to the heauē for reuēge of the murtherer, God hauing appoynted that secret supernaturall signe, for tryall of that secret

vnnaturall crime, so it appears that God hath appointed (for a supernaturall signe of the monstrous impietic of Witches) that the water shall refuse to receiue them in her bosome, that haue shaken off them the sacred Water of Baptisme, and wilfully refused the benefite thereof: No, not so much as their eies are able to shead teares (threaten and torture them as yee please) while first they repent (God not permitting them to dissemble their obstinacie in so horrible a crime) albeit the women kind especially, be able other-waies to shead teares at euery light occasiō when they will, yea, although it were dissemblingly like the *Crocodiles*.

Ph. Well, we haue made this conference to last as long as leisure would permit: And to conclude thē, since I am to take my leaue of you, I pray God to purge this country of these diuellish practises: for they were neuer so rife in these parts, as they are now.

Ep. I pray God that so be to. But the causes are over-manifest, that makes thē to be so rife. For the great wickednes of the people on the one part, procures this horrible defection, whereby God iustly punisheth some by a greater iniquitie. And on the other part, the consummation of the world, and our deliuerance drawing neare, makes Sathan to rage the more fir in his instruments, knowing his kingdom to be so neare an end. And so farewell for this time.

FINIS.

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